DISARMAMENT

Newsletter

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The cover photograph shows Canadian and Hungarian air force officersl inside a Canadian Forces plane that took part in an "open skies" test overflight on 6 January.

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Open Skies

Following his initial proposals in May 1989, US President Bush developed the idea of "open skies" during his speech to the UN General Assembly on 25 September. He said the United States is convinced that open and innovative measures can move disarmament forward – and also ease international tensions. That, he continued, was the idea behind the "open skies" proposal about which the Soviet Union had now also expressed a positive attitude. This was also the idea behind the "open lands" proposal which would permit, for the first time ever, free travel for all Soviet and American diplomats throughout each other's countries. "Openness is the enemy of mistrust, and every step towards a more open world is a step towards the new world we seek," he stated.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who spoke in the UN General Assembly on 26 September, said his country attached fundamental importance to a transition from individual measures of confidence-building, openness and *glasnost* to a global policy as part of comprehensive security. He welcomed President Bush's "open skies" proposal. In welcoming and supporting this initiative, the Soviet Union called for opening up the lands, the waters, and outer space.

Speaking on 28 September, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Joe Clark, endorsed the US and Soviet agreement to explore an open-skies arrangement between NATO and WTO countries. He said such an arrangement would be daring in its simplicity, yet path-breaking in its consequences: an agreement that the aircraft of each member of both alliances could enter the airspace of the other alliance subject only to basic air-safety regulations.

Secretary of State Clark said that, from the beginning, Canada had urged the United States to move forward with its visionary proposal, and to make it an alliance-to-alliance arrangement. An open-skies agreement would, he said, be a compelling symbol of the new East-West relationship. It would build confidence and serve as a useful vehicle for the verification of other agreements, including an eventual agreement on conventional forces in Europe.

Canada was, he continued, prepared to go beyond moral support for "open skies". On Sunday, 24 September, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had announced Canada's offer to act as host to an inter-alliance conference in order to explore the possibilities of a formal agreement on "open skies".

The Canadian Ambassador for Disarmament, Peggy Mason, in an interview on 8 January, said this conference will take place in two stages, with the first part in Ottawa starting on 12 February, and the second part in Hungary. She said that in preparation for the conference, a NATO ministerial meeting early in December accepted a paper on how "open skies" should work. Also, on 6 January, a Canadian Forces aircraft with officials from both Canada and Hungary conducted a mock overflight of Hungary to test flight planning and safety procedures. Although it did not have sensors on it, the plan is that this form of flight will take place using a range of sensors so that the military activities of each side can be monitored.

Pre-flight route briefing by the chief navigator for the Hungarian Air Force, Lt.Col. László Forgács to the Canadian C-130 Hercules crew (Canadian National Defence photograph

Mr. Fred Bild of the Canadian Department of External Affairs will be the Secretary-General of the Open Skies Conference in Ottawa. He sees three main advantages in the "open skies" proposal. It could become one of the most important confidence-building measures because it is so simple, and it is broader than most since it does not apply only to specific military activities. Secondly, it should be of some value for the verification of arms limitation agreements such as a CFE agreement on conventional forces in Europe.

Also, an "open skies" agreement would be the first confidence-building measure to cover the entire territory of both the NATO and WTO alliances, including the United States and Canada and the Asian parts of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Bild is also the Chairman of the Group of Qualified Governmental Experts to Undertake a Study on the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Verification.

The Open Skies Conference that will begin on 12 February, will open with a two- or three-day ministerial meeting of the foreign ministers of the 16 NATO States and the 7 Warsaw Treaty States and continue for three weeks.

In a January interview, Mr. Tibor Tóth of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported that the second and final session of the Open Skies Conference will take place in Budapest within approximately three weeks following the end of the Ottawa session.

Hungary had expressed interest in this initiative from the time it was proposed in May 1989. As Foreign Minister Gyula Horn stated in his speech to the 1989 UN General Assembly, Hungary considered that the initiative was designed to lessen tensions, build confidence and promote verification of disarmament measures. Hungarian officials proposed starting consultations with the participation of the countries concerned and suggested that the Canadian meeting could be complemented by another stage of the conference in Eastern Europe.

Mr. Tóth explained that the trial overflight on 6 January had taken three hours and flew over much of Hungary, including Soviet bases there as well as Hungarian military installations. The Government of Canada had extended an invitation to the Hungarian Government and other WTO member States to conduct a reciprocal overflight of Canadian territory.

The results and conclusions stemming from the first trial flight will be evaluated at a meeting at the end of January in Budapest with the participation of experts from the 23 countries participating in the Ottawa Conference.

This meeting will provide an opportunity for informal discussions of a range of issues related to the Open Skies Conference.

The "open skies" concept was first proposed by President Eisenhower in 1955. However, due to the complexities of the circumstances at that time, an agreement to further explore its possibilities could not be reached then. □

Disarmament issues: an interview with Ambassador Peggy Mason

Q: Having been appointed to represent Canada as Ambassador for Disarmament last August 28th, how do you view your mandate, and how does it differ from that of other First Committee Ambassadors?

A: It has three broad areas of responsibility. The first is to represent Canada at the First Committee of the General Assembly, at the Disarmament Commission and at selected other meetings such as the NPT Review Conference, but not at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. This relates to my second mandate, to consult with the public, which means I must be in Canada and travel extensively; so I obviously cannot be in Geneva whenever I am not in New York. Arms control and disarmament issues were felt to be of such concern in Canada that a major part of the mandate is to be the primary point of contact between the Government and the interested public on these issues.

Q: How do you do that?

A: Being based in Ottawa I go to meetings and conferences and we have a Consultative Group on Disarmament and Arms Control Affairs made up of Canadian academics, peace activists and others who are knowledgeable and interested in these issues. We convene full meetings of the Group of up to 60 people twice a year. The first full meeting this year will review what Canada's objectives and role should be in the upcoming NPT Review Conference.

Q: And your third area of work?

A: That is advising our Secretary of State for External Affairs on a broad range of arms control and disarmament issues, and ensuring co-ordination across these issues.

Q: Now that you have represented Canada at your first session of the First Committee, what were your impressions of it.

A: In my opening speech, I tried to encourage the First Committee to rise to the challenge of the pace of activity taking place in other disarmament negotiations such as the progress in bilateral talks and in Vienna. We wanted to continue to encourage a more businesslike approach. I am pleased to say that I found that there was generally an absence of polemics and an absence of grandstanding. There are obviously many countries with differences of views, and it is important that the First Committee not just be a forum for restating national positions, but that there be a real attempt to try to narrow some of the gaps between the different views. This is important, and I certainly was encouraged by the businesslike atmosphere, and the attempt to find common ground.

Q: What would be examples?

A: We were particularly active regarding the omnibus resolution on chemical weapons for which the original co-sponsors were Canada and Poland. We were encouraged by the fact that that resolution again achieved consensus in 1989. We were also very active on the Australia, New Zealand resolution on the urgent need for a comprehensive test-ban treaty, and we were encouraged by the support that it received. We also worked very hard on the resolution for a convention to prevent an arms race in outer space, but there still isn't much progress there.

Progress for disarmament in 1989

Q: From what you have seen in the final months of 1989, how would you evaluate the achievements of the year in the field of arms control?

A: It is appropriate at the beginning of 1990, to evaluate what has been happening, especially given the extraordinary developments of the past year and the awesome changes that have been taking place in Eastern Europe. Certainly, 1989 was an exceptionally busy and an exceptionally productive year in the field of arms control and disarmament. Not only was there very significant progress made, but also we in Canada feel that the arms control process has a particularly key role to play because it can introduce an element of certainty and stability in relation to all of these changes that are taking place. The process itself is important, in addition to the very significant results it can bring us.

Q: What are the main examples?

A: A major development of the year was the opening of the two sets of Vienna talks. Other areas of progress were those concerning the chemical weapons negotiations which take place in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, the progress in bilateral negotiations for strategic arms reductions and the progress that we see in confidence-building generally as exemplified in the acceptance of the "open skies" proposal. There was also real progress in relation to verification.

Q: Could you please develop the point about Vienna first?

A: The opening of new conventional force reduction negotiations in Vienna in March by the 16 NATO and the 7 WTO countries, and the related confidence- and security-building negotiations with the 35 CSCE countries were especially encouraging. These talks

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The Canadian delegation to the 1989 General Assembly was led by the Secretary of State for External Affiars, Joe Clark, who is shown here with Ambassador Peggy Mason seated with Ambassador Yves Fortier on her other side. (UN photo 174645)

have as their aim a secure and stable balance of conventional forces in Europe at a lower level. This will involve the elimination of the capability for surprise attack and large-scale offensive action. From the outset of these negotiations it became apparent that there was a desire on both sides to make very rapid progress.

Q: What are the prospects now?

A: The fact that both sides presented their draft treaties in December shows remarkable progress, and there is a very good prospect of an agreement being finalized in 1990. Canada has identified these talks as an area in which it is especially important to play an active part, particularly in the field of verification where we have some expertise. We are therefore very heartened by the prospects, especially when you consider that the previous negotiation which this one replaced went on for years without any real achievement.

Q: How do you see the 1989 record on chemical weapons?

A: We thought there was good progress in Geneva in the Conference on Disarmament negotiations. We also thought the Paris Conference in January 1989 and the Canberra Conference in September provided further impetus which is important because the whole issue with the concern about proliferation, about recent use and the technical dimension of the negotiations means there needs to be clear political impetus to keep the process going. We also felt that the priority which the United States and the Soviet Union had given in their own bilateral negotiations and the fact that they had identified this as a priority area and had worked on various verification aspects and on agreements to destroy portions of their own stock prior to their implementation of the global treaty also added an important impetus.

Q:What would you say about the START negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union?

A: The progress in bilateral negotiations between the two super-Powers with respect to the START negotiations on strategic arms reductions is very encouraging. The fact that they themselves have stated that they believe the prospects are good for a treaty in 1990 that will provide up to a 50% cut in their strategic nuclear arsenals, means that this is a very important area.

"Open skies"

Q: Could you expand on your comment about the open skies idea as a confidence-building measure?

A: We see this as one of the most interesting developments of 1989, and we also see it as a tangible expression of the new transparency and the new openness between East and West. It is one thing to talk about openness and to demonstrate it in political matters, but when you start to apply this idea to military activities in the way proposed in the open skies plan, that becomes a very significant means of enhancing confidence and transparency.

Q: How has Canada come to be so involved in this subject?

A: When we understood that the US Administration was considering this as one possible proposal to put forward in the context of the NATO summit in May, Canada became very active in promoting the idea and preparing background material. Prime Minister Mulroney spoke to President Bush prior to the NATO summit to try to push this forward on the agenda. We felt this was exactly the sort of thing that really had a chance.

Q: How would you sum up the prospects for 1990?

A: The prospects for a finalized CFE agreement on conventional forces in Europe in 1990 are very positive, as are the prospects for an "open skies" agreement. There still is a lot that needs to be done to get the details right, but this can be very important for confidence-building. There is such a sense that so many things are happening in Eastern Europe and in East-West relations, that I think sometimes the sorts of things that are needed for agreements to be successful are lost sight of. Essentially it is a building process, step by step. Although there is a great deal of euphoria about the sorts of political changes that are taking place, in the arms control area, you still have to go through the process of identifying those areas where you can make reductions, then agreeing on them and then putting in place the means to verify. This is needed at each stage where concrete agreements can be reached for enhancing confidence that this process is in fact taking place and that it is taking place in a fair way and a stable way for everyone. This is a mutually reinforcing process. Another thing I've outlined is the prospect for a START agreement in 1990. Also it is important to maintain the momentum on the Geneva negotiations on a global chemical weapons ban.

Non-proliferation and testing

Q: Is there any other major issue for 1990?

A: An area that I haven't touched on, but which we would identify as very important, but about which we cannot be so sanguine as I've indicated for other areas, is the NPT Review Conference in August and September of 1990. Canada regards the non-proliferation Treaty as the linchpin of the nuclear non-proliferation régime, and the need to strengthen this is a major preocupation of our arms control and disarmament policy. That is the context within which we are approaching the NPT Fourth Review Conference. It is also important to continue to obtain some progress toward a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

Q: Is there some way such progress could come out of the NPT Review Conference?

A: There is a linkage between the two because Article VI of the NPT pledges nuclear-weapon States to maximum effort to negotiate to end the nuclear arms race and to try to achieve an end to nuclear testing. So that provision of the NPT Treaty has been seen to be the pledge, or the bargain, if you will, of the nuclear-weapon States. Thus, whenever there is a review of the non-proliferation Treaty, there are a number of countries, particularly non-aligned countries, which are concerned that there has not been enough progress with respect to the achievement of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. This has made them say that they needed to question whether they wished to continue the non-proliferation Treaty régime. The concern over lack of progress felt by a number of countries with respect to achieving a comprehensive test-ban treaty has been reflected most recently in the call for convening a conference of the States parties to the partial test-ban Treaty (PTBT) to try to convert that into a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

Q: What is the Canadian position on this?

A: Initially we felt that this is not an effective route to go. We start from the background that the achievement of a comprehensive test-ban treaty is an essential arms control objective. On the other hand you have to be realistic on how that can be achieved, and we felt that the convening of the conference to try to turn the PTBT into a comprehensive test-ban treaty was doomed to failure from the outset, and was not really the best use of the multilateral process. However, that's history. That's going back to the position we took as a country that has a great deal at stake in the multilateral process. However, as I indicated in my opening statement to the First Committee, the conference is going ahead, the requisite number of countries has called for it, and therefore we certainly want to be as constructive as possible. However, going into this conference, we are aware of the position of at least two of the nuclear-weapon States which are parties to the PTBT, the United Kingdom and the United States, which have indicated that they have no intention at this time of agreeing to such a proposal. Their agreement, as depositaries, is required under the terms of the Treaty for any amendment proposal to be successful.That is not to say that progress cannot be made, but we would certainly want to be realistic about what the prospects for progress are. Nonetheless, I think that progress can be made and differences narrowed.

Q:How do you see the relationship between this and the NPT?

A: The amendment conference is relevant to the NPT because some countries have made a linkage which has caused us to respond that, however important one objective is, such as a test-ban treaty, it should not lead to the sacrifice of the other achievement, which is the non-proliferation Treaty which is a major arms control Treaty. Although we understand completely the frustrations some countries may feel at the lack of progress in achieving a comprehensive test-ban treaty, we would strongly resist the kind of linkage which might put the NPT at risk. The essential benefit of the non-

Aircraft Commander Capt John Latullippe (left) explains the radios on board the Canadian C-130 Hercules to LCol Joszef Kovencz the chief pilot of the Hungarian Air Force. (Canadian National Defence photograph)

proliferation Treaty is the security that it provides to all non-nuclear weapon States that their fellow non-nuclear-weapon States have undertaken that obligation as well. As important as the need to control vertical proliferation is, the essential bargain of the NPT, in our view, is the curbing of the horizontal spread of nuclear weapons.

Q: What is your thinking on a step-by-step approach to a comprehensive test-ban treaty?

A: I think that to get to a comprehensive test-ban treaty, there has to be the desire, and one has to go through a number of steps to get there. That is why we have tryed to support a step-by step process and we are encouraged by the fact that the two major nuclear Powers are negotiating verification measures, and that we can expect the early ratification of the threshold test-ban Treaty of 1974 and the peaceful nuclear explosions Treaty of 1976.We hope that these will be steps that will lay a foundation for building future limitations and will not stop there. We would also hope that, in the context of the Conference on Disarmament negotiations in Geneva, that some real progress would be made there which would bring us back to actual negotiation of a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

Q: Was the General Assembly action as effective as you might have hoped on these subjects?

A: One could not comment on the work of the General Assembly without saying that we certainly regretted that agreement wasn't reached at the margins of the First Committee regarding the time and place of the PTBT amendment conference. The conference has now been convened, but there has been no agreement among the parties, including the depositary States which have the obligation to convene the conference. We regret that, and we particularly would like to see a working agreement that could be in place prior to the third prep comm. of the NPT Review Conference. We don't think it helpful to have that issue outstanding and unresolved when we are preparing for the NPT Review Conference. So it is a particular area of regret that there couldn't have been a broader area of agreement there.

Verification of arms limitation agreements

Q:What sort of progress do you see in relation to verification?

A: We were particularly pleased at the acceptance at the 1988 UN General Assembly of the resolution on verification which Canada sponsored, and which called for a group of experts to comment on the role of the UN in verification, because that is a particularly important area, and there are some broad differences of view on exactly how the UN can play a role. We were very pleased that Fred Bild, our Minister of International Security Affairs, was asked to chair that important group.

Q: What is the extent of your interest in verification?

A: The focus of our effort in the CFE negotiations concerns the design of the verification package. Likewise, with respect to the chemical weapons negotiations in Geneva, we have tried to focus on the verification of a comprehensive ban. As regards the CSCE Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the key point is that the Stockholm document was the first major confidence- and security-building accord and it continues to be implemented. In 1989, Canada had the opportunity to carry out an inspection of a Czechoslovakian military exercise. This kind of inspection is very important in the whole confidence-building process. Also it ties in with "open skies" which we would place in the context of confidence- and security-building measures. With respect to the new CSCE negotiation itself, I think an important development in 1989 was the agreement to have a seminar on military doctrine. This will take place in February 1990 to consider whether one can have a much more defensive force structure for conventional weapons.

Q: What is the history behind Canada's being so interested in verification of arms limitation agreements?

A: It was in the early 1980s that we made a very conscious decision to devote significant Canadian resources to this issue. At that time the question of how much verification was possible, and how much was needed was a constant source of disagreement, and

Canada felt this really was an area for some innovative approaches. Also we felt there was perhaps some particular Canadian expertise in the area of satellite verification and seismic verification where we had technical expertise that might help. Then at the Second Special Session on Disarmament in 1982, Canadian Prime MInister Trudeau specifically identified verification as a major area of focus for Canada. That led ultimately to the setting up in February 1984, of the Canadian verification research unit which now has an annual budget of about a million dollars to analyze verification issues, assess the adequacy of various proposals to find whether they would work technically, to develop new ones and to foster Canadian expertise and capability among the academic, commercial and governmental sectors. From the very beginning there was a very active partnership with universities and with the private sector and contracts were given to Canadian companies with satellite expertise or to universities to study various aspects.

Q: How did that early work relate to what is useful now in the field of verification?

A: In the 1984-1987 period, when we hadn't seen the kind of change in East-West relations where you could start to make progress, we were in a position to be laying a bit of groundwork. We are seeing the results of that with regard to "open skies". There was a framework in place, there were people in place so that when a good idea came along it could be pushed forward at a faster speed than would have been possible otherwise. Our interest in the area also, I think, to be perfectly frank, grows out of a realistic assessment on Canada's part of how much of a role we can play. We are not a major player, we are not at the table in the strategic arms negotiations. We are an active member of NATO, but we are not a major player, nor do we have unlimited resources or unlimited influence. We therefore have to look at those areas were we feel we can actually make a concrete contribution to progress. So all those factors combine to indicate a focus on verificationas a natural area where we can give tangible expression to the traditional Canadian role of bridge building and promoting support for multilateral institutions. It complements our peace-keeping role.

Disarmament, security and co-operation

Q: Finally, what is your view on the relationship between disarmament,security, and co-operation and on the joint US/Soviet resolution on that?

A: We were quite pleased with that because when the Soviet Union first proposed it in 1987, they referred to it as a comprehensive system and that led to concern that perhaps it implied an alternative structure that might compete with the United Nations. Canada was particularly active in the 1988 General Assembly in proposing various changes to the resolution to the Soviet Union which addressed this problem by referring to a comprehensive approach. We thought that the way they responded to our concerns about that resolution indicated their desire to be much more businesslike with respect to the UN, and we found that very encouraging. Therefore we were particularly encouraged that that kind of businesslike approach was taken up between the Soviet Union and the United States so that they were able to work out a joint approach to rededicating themselves to the UN and to a co-operative approach within the UN.

Q: Where does that leave the issue now?

A: There was some cynicism within the media that perhaps the Soviet Union was backing off. We would certainly prefer to look at it the other way. This is that two or three years ago one would not have expected the United States and the Soviet Union to rededicate themselves to the principles of the UN Charter and to co-operative effort. We see it definitely as a positive and encouraging result developing from what started out as a resolution which the United States opposed. □

New publications

Disarmament Possibilities II, Excerpts from panel discussions organized by the NGO Committee on Disarmament on the United Nations role in disarmament and international security, May 1989/New York, US (English)

Disarmament Facts 69, The Sea-Bed Treaty and Its Third Review Conference in 1989 (A,C,E,F,S,R)

Disarmament Facts 70, Armament and Disarmament Questions and Answers (A,C,E,F,S,R)

Disarmament: A Periodic Review, Vol.XIII, No.1, 1990 (English), Sales No. 3.90.IX.1

Regional Conference for the World Disarmament Campaign, 12-16 June/ Dagomys, USSR (English/Russian)

The United Nations Disarmament Yearbook, Vol.12, 1987 (Chinese), Sales No. C.88.IX.2 □

From military to civilian production

The idea that military-serving industry could change its production to meet civilian market demand is not new. At the end of the second world war, military manufacturers in many countries, including the United States, went through rapid transformation to produce goods for which there was pent up demand.

Interest in conversion was renewed in the late 1970s and the 1980s due to the unprecedented resources going into armaments and because of the economic burden this proved to be for many countries.

Following a UN study in the late seventies, all States with a military production capability were invited t undertake national studies on the requirements for conversion. However,the first and only country so far to actually develop a plan for the conversion of its military industry is Sweden.

The debt crisis, unmanagable budget deficits and the prospect of deep cuts in military forces and weapons in Europe have made this subject highly topical.

The 1989 General Assembly invited Member States to send their views concerning the conversion of military resources to civilian purposes to the United Nations by April 1991.

The resolution observed that many States wished to convert their military resources to civilian purposes and that this ought to be done gradually following careful study and taking account of economic, social and financial aspects.

During the plenary general debate, the Byelorussian Foreign Minister spoke on conversion, saying that current and forthcoming disarmament processes put this issue, that had previously seemed merely theoretical, onto a practical plane.

The US multiple launch rocket system (MLRS) depicted here is produced in Camden, Arizona; Dallas, Texas; Los Angeles, California; Norwalk, Connecticut and Redbank, New Jersey. Soviet counterpart systems are produced with several sizes of rockets. (Picture credit: US Department of the Army, US Government Printing Office: 1989 0-230-979: QL3)

In the First Committee, which is the UN Committee dealing mainly with arms limitation, disarmament and security questions, the Philippines reported that its Senate had established a Legislative-Executive Council to study conversion and that there was wide public and governmental interest in converting military facilities into enterprises which would bring employment to people and make the Philippines more competitive among its neighbours in the Asia-Pacific region.

Bulgaria, which introduced the Assembly resolution on the subject, said the UN should be involved in an exchange of ideas and experience on how the problem of conversion could be tackled. Clearly there are many challenges in this task.

In the November 1989 General Assembly First Committee vote on a resolution on conversion, there were 153 votes in favour with none against, and only one abstention, by the United States. Following the vote, several countries made statements explaining their votes. The United States said it had abstained because the resolution was predicated on the assumption that the State dictates what is produced by industry while in free economies any conversion would be by private industry whose plans would be dictated primarily by market considerations.

France also expressed the belief that efforts at conversion should be carried out by States that have a high level of military expenses and centralized planned economies. It also recommended that exchanges of information on the modalities for the conversion of military resources be carried out on the basis of a precise and transparent assessment of the military resources of all States in order to buttress the credibility and effectiveness of the exercise. Belgium made similar points speaking for itself, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

The Federal Republic of Germany said that the conversion of military production capacities was not necessarily part of disarmament agreements, but might be the outcome of such agreements. It could be decided upon unilaterally by Governments. In countries with free market systems, the civil industry was accustomed to adjusting its production under its own responsibility according to the requirements of the market. The FRG said that both State-planned and market economies had a common interest in ensuring that industrial overcapacities in the field of armaments should not be channelled into increasing exports of weapons. □

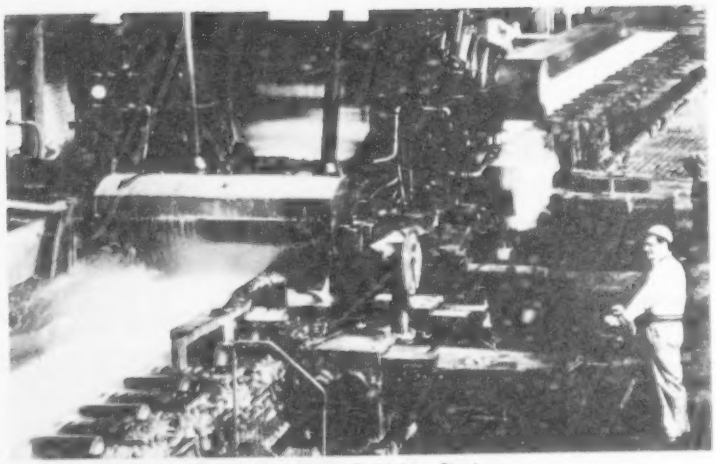
Public interest groups address conversion

At a conference on conversion held in Cortona, Italy, in April 1989, John Lovering of the University of Bristol discussed the history of conversion initiatives in Britain. He cited the plan prepared by the trade unions at Lucas Aerospace which had suggested a number of products which could be developed using the plant capacities and the skills available.

He also described the work of the Trades Council in the shipbuilding town of Barrow which looked at applications for the engineering skills at the Vickers shipyard that would provide an alternative to production of the Trident submarine. He reported a growth of local authority involvement in conversion planning, and gave details for the Bristol area.

A Symposium of the World Federation of Scientific Workers on "Conversion – a realistic option in industrialized societies" was held at Valkenburg, the Netherlands in May 1989. Professor Klaus Engelhardt of the Institute of International Politics and Economics in Berlin said there was a new dimension to conversion; due to changes in political conditions, it could become a much larger reality than had seemed possible a short time earlier. In his view, conversion required very specific political and economic preconditions including political decisions and international co-ordination.

Dr. Victor Berezin and V. Nossov of the USSR reported to the Valkenburg meeting that more than 450 manufacturing, construction and research institutions working for the arms industry will now be producing agricultural machinery in the Soviet Union.



Molten steel being rolled in the sheet mill of a Bethlehem Steel Company plant in Sparrows Point, Maryland. (UN photo 132152)

Dr. Rainer Rilling from the Federal Republic of Germany said that in the United States and some Western European countries, there had not been any real increase in military budgets since 1986, but that there had been a clear growth of investment in military research.

At a Parliamentary Forum of Parliamentarians Global Action last November, Professor Seymour Melman said it was assumed that the short-term income and employment effects of government expenditure on military production could be obtained over and over again without cost, but that, in his view, in fact, the process of obtaining and fulfilling military contracts undermined the growth of productivity by weakening the cost-minimizing ability of industrial firms.

Dr. Melman said the key requirements for conversion were illustrated by legislation proposed in the United States which would mandate an alternative use committee in every military-serving factory, base and laboratory. Each committee would plan a complete economic and technical redesign of the enterprise so it could participate in the civilian economy. He said that discussions with economists in the Soviet Union showed that they had also found the need for plant-by-plant planning because the people and the institutions involved needed to arrange their own changes and had to be retrained.

An article in the 8 December 1989 issue of "Trud", the main daily publication of the Soviet Trade Union Organization, set out the main views of Soviet economist Alexei Izyumov on what hampers conversion. He wrote that, especially in the Soviet Union where market demand is still being organized, the prices and profitability for civilian goods was several times lower than for the previously produced military goods. Thus, in order to keep wages and salaries intact and find means to convert production, the defence-serving enterprises had either to cut their work force or take money from the State budget. Since it would take some time for a market incentive mechanism to develop, the defence industry would have to accept State orders for civilian products.

Mr. Izyumov stated that world experience had indicated that conversion could be efficient only if it was planned and carried through by those directly involved: the people working for the defence industry, scientists, engineers, trade union members and the military. Consequently, he thought the time was ripe for a national law in the Soviet Union to articulate the responsibilities of government, the military, local authorities and producers.

To get conversion off the ground, Mr. Izyumov continued, it would be necessary to make all the necessary information about the defence industry's potential capacities available to both military producers and civilian customers. To this end, many defence-oriented enterprises had joined efforts. Thus, for example, the regional Ural-Conversion inter-departmental centre, recently set up in Sverdlovsk, was now creating its own data bank.

Speaking at a seminar organized by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in New York late in 1989, Professor Lloyd J. Dumas of the University of Texas made a number of related points. He stressed the ease of operation for the military-serving sector of the economy. Rather than facing strong competitive pressures to hold costs down in multi-customer markets, military firms had a single government customer whose primary interest was maximizing product performance rather than minimizing costs.

Dr. Dumas also suggested measures the United Nations could take to encourage conversion action by Member States. For example, the relevant UN agencies could create a cadre of conversion experts available to assist governments, or publish conversion guidelines to assist firms and individuals in both the private and the public sector.

The most recent Quad City Conference on Peace and Security reported in the Stanley Foundation Courier addressed the question of military production in the area which includes Davenport, Iowa; Bettendorf, Iowa; Rock Island, Illinois and Moline, Illinois. As the key speaker, Professor Dumas said the United States and the Soviet Union had underestimated the costs of the arms race so that in the name of national security, both countries had made themselves much less secure.

He did not think simply cutting military spending was enough. That would merely throw a lot of people out of work. Instead, he said you needed to make an organic connection between what people are now doing in military work and how those skills can be used in the private sector.

The 1990 Quad City Conference will have a session on Talking about Security: Modelling an Approach to Public Policy Dialogue where one of the speakers will be US Colonel David Morgan who is the Commander of the Rock Island Arsenal.

"The Economic Consequences of Peace: Regional Responses to Defense Cuts" is the title of a Research Report by Eugene Cholick and Rosy Nimroody for the New York based Council on Economic Priorities. They examined the effects of US Defense Department cuts on communities in California, New York and Illinois. They found that California and Long Island were examples of regions that, having had huge defence contracts under the Reagan Administration, were now facing losses and were working towards economic adjustment. Illinois, on the other hand, was an example of a state that could benefit from defence cuts since it might be able to compete more effectively to keep large numbers of engineers who have been traditionally wooed away by the top defence contractors which are in other states.

This CEP Report is the initial phase of a major research and education project on strategies for a productive America which will analyze the adjustment process of various regions across the country and assess the Pentagon's ability to assist hard-hit communities. It will also recommend ways communities can plan for a smooth economic transition.

The Center for Economic Conversion in Mountain View, California has prepared an information sheet on the local impacts of military contracting in the United States. They also have one on economic conversion and national security. It defines economic conversion as the orderly redirection of resources employed in military activities to socially useful economic endeavours. This includes transforming defence plants to civilian production, diversifying the economies of cities with major defence employment, and establishing new national priorities such as restoring the environment and expanding education.

The major Italian trade unions have set up caucuses of shop stewards from the arms industry. During 1989, two union contracts were bargained that commit major military firms to increase their share of civilian production. The Italian arms industry is about half State owned, and about half private and has some 80,000 employees according to Dr. Mario Pianta of the Archivio Disarmo in Rome.

In his book, *Building Global Security*, former Canadian Ambassador for Disarmament, Douglas Roche says peace groups have opposed an expansion of arms manufacture in Canada, but that a tug-of-war between disarmament and immediate economic benefits splits communities because people are not conscious of the finding that investments in the civilian economy generate more jobs than investments in the military economy, largely because military industry is so capital intensive. □

Interview with the Chairman of the First Committee

Following a final meeting of the First Committee, its Chairman, Ambassador Aldolfo Taylhardat of Venezuela answered a number of questions on the work of the Committee during the 1989 session of the UN General Assembly.

Q: Ambassador Taylhardat, what do you think were the main results of the First Committee's efforts this year?

A: There were a number of resolutions that were adopted by consensus which will have an impact on the future work of the UN in the field of disarmament, particularly for the Conference on Disarmament.

Q: What would be an example of this?

A: The results were very positive regarding chemical weapons. Also the joint resolution proposed by the US and the Soviet Union on international security is a positive development. While this was not the work of the First Committee, it influenced our work positively, and one way or another it is an achievement for the Committee because that was where the initiative was brought to the attention of UN Members.

Q: Is there any specific way you feel that resolution influenced the work of the UN this year?

A: It influenced it in that the main item relating to the Soviet proposals on a comprehensive system of international security has received very favourable treatment, being adopted without a vote in the plenary.

Q: Do you think there is any new convergence on the question of arms transfers?

A: I would say there is a general concern regarding the issue. Countries are becoming more and more worried about this question and this is already an important result.

Q: What do you think about the question of conversion from military to civilian production?

A: Well, this is a new issue, and a new subject. I would say that conversion would be an important logical result of any process of disarmament. Once specific disarmament measures are adopted, the industrial basis for the production of weapons should be transformed into industries for non-military goods.

Q: How do you view the relationship between the reduction of military budgets and conversion ?

The Chairman of the First Committee, Ambassador Adolfo Taylhardat (Venezuela) with the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, to his right and the First Committee Secretary, Mr. Sohrab Kheradi to his left. (UN photo)

A: There is a coincidence of the measures being taken by the Soviet Union for the reduction of their military budget and the decisions they have taken to transform certain industrial plants into peaceful industries. My impression is that the measures taken by the United States are mainly as a result of internal public opinion pressure and also as a result of the concern in the US Congress about the military expenditure of the United States. These decisions have not been taken because of any agreement or consultation between the two countries.

Q: Do you see any wider interest in discussing naval disarmament than in the past?

A: I would say that interest is increasing, the only problem is that the objection of certain countries is still there, and it is not possible to move forward unless the United States agrees, and it is opposed to any examination of this issue in the UN.

Q: What are some issues where you think there has been progress?

A: Progress has been made in the regional negotiations in Europe which is part of the whole process of global disarmament which the United Nations is trying to bring about.

Q: Do you think the political changes in Europe will affect the debate in the UN?

A: I do believe so. One can see that the world is going through a very profound process of change. It is not only profound, but also surprising, in that I think nobody expected that so many things would happen in such a short time. So, one way or the other, it will have an impact and one can say that the cold war is finally over. The military alliances were created in order to face the confrontation resulting from the cold war. So one □

would think that there would no 'onger be the need for these strong alliances. So, while I do not foresee that the two alliances will disappear, at least their military strength will be reduced to a level which would be sufficient for the present security situation.

Q: Did you see any progress forward in the First Committee regarding confidence- and security-building measures?

A: There has been some progress. The work of the Disarmament Commission has been very helpful and one can see that the general trend is toward an increasing role for confidence-building measures as a step toward adoption of disarmament measures.

Q: What about work on objective information on military expenditures?

A: This is also an area where I feel some progress was made. The resolution was adopted, and a renewed call was made to countries to provide information on their budgets and to use the UN system for reporting.

Q: Do you think the First Committee played any significant role in the process of getting support for a comprehensive test ban?

A: I would say that the role of the First Committee is that of continuing to exert pressure on the main protagonists of nuclear tests. I think that the adoption of the resolution on the amendment of the partial test-ban Treaty, together with the resolution relating to a nuclear test ban, do continue to exert strong pressure on the countries which insist on relying on their nuclear weapons for their own defence and also insist that they need to continue modernizing their nuclear arsenals for their own security. I think that as we move towards negotiations on strategic weapons, the need for nuclear testing will decrease. But unfortunately, there continues to be an attitude of the United States which considers that it needs to test to maintain its nuclear arsenals.

Hague Declaration of lawyers

The International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms, meeting at its First World Congress at the Hague, in September 1989, affirmed its opinion that the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons is a war crime and a crime against humanity, as well as a gross violation of the norms of international customary and treaty law.

They also said that the total outlawing of nuclear weapons, including their research, manufacture and possession, was an urgent task.

The Congress of IALANA rejected strongly the argument that the use of nuclear weapons is permitted because it is nowhere expressly prohibited, and it also rejected the policy of deterrence as being, in their view, illegal and unacceptable.

Nearly 200 lawyers from approximately 30 countries attended the First World Congress of IALANA. Among the distinguished speakers were Justice P.N. Bhagwati of the Supreme Court of India and Former Governor John Gilligan of Ohio who is now Director of the Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame.

The officers of the Association include three Co-Presidents: Stig Gustafsson (Sweden), Alexander Sukharev (Soviet Union) and Peter Weiss (United States), and three Vice-Presidents who come from the Federal Republic of Germany, Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia. Professor Saul Mendlovitz, who directs the World Order Models Project ,is IALANA's UN Representative and Professors Richard Falk of Princeton University and Rein Mullerson of the USSR chair IALANA's Academic Council. □

NPT conference arrangements

The Fourth Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will take place at the Palais des Nations in Geneva from 20 August to 14 September 1990. As provided by the Treaty, review conferences have been held every five years since the Treaty came into force in 1970. The Third Review Conference took place in May 1985.

The Fourth Review Conference will be the last regular review before the convening, in 1995, of a conference which will "decide whether the Treaty shall continue in force indefinitely or shall be extended for an additional fixed period or periods."

It is expected that the Conference will attract the attention and interest of a large number of non-governmental organizations and research institutes around the world, as did previous review conferences.

Serving as the secretariat of the Conference, the Department for Disarmament Affairs expects to make arrangements similar to those at previous review conferences for the NGOs and research institutes which decide to be represented at the conference. The next issue of the Newsletter will provide information on these arrangements and on pre-registration procedures.

Non-military dimensions of global security

A Workshop organized by the Indian Pugwash Committee held in New Delhi from 21 to 24 November 1989 addressed a number of issues related to the non-military dimension of global security.

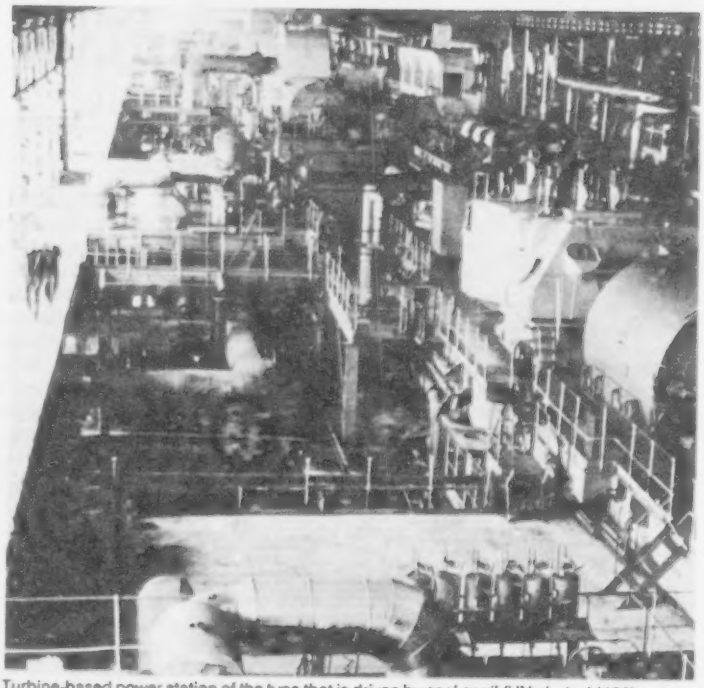
The rapporteurs' report states that there has been a dramatic transformation of the international situation since the mid-1980s. Any comprehensive approach to security must take account of the growing irrelevance of war as an instrument of policy in the developed world and increasing limits to the impact of direct military intervention in developing countries.

At the same time, the significance of non-military threats to security is growing. These non-military threats include the risks of climatic change and environmental degradation, drugs, terrorism and a lack of economic development of the third world or any equitable access to economic and technological innovation.

There is apprehension that the new East-West detente may marginalize the hopes and aspirations of the developing world. But it is also possible that accord in the North will lead to greater attention to the needs of the South lest the North put its own security at risk.

While the free market paradigm has gained new support in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, it may not be the most appropriate option for the developing world. Alternative models with more self-reliance and less inequality should be explored, the report suggests.

The report says the current international economic order has been undemocratic in its decision-making, has marginalized the third world and passed on to third world countries all the economic shocks of the system. Basic restructuring of this order may be a prerequisite to security because security is incompatible with gross inequality.



Turbine-based power station of the type that is driven by coal or oil (UN photo 14136)

Technology is the vital component for enhancing the quality of life in the developing world, the report states. An important trend in the current international order is the attempt to use technology as an instrument of foreign and national security policy as indicated by restrictions on the export of military and commercial technologies and by restrictions on scientific exchange. While the East-West dimension of technology constraints may ease , the advanced developing countries are increasingly faced with barriers erected on the grounds of national security.

In order to create a more rational technological order, the advanced developing countries must pursue with determination South-South technology transfers, and must set an example on fair and reasonable transfers of technology.

Defence-led technological development and economic growth may have reached their limits. The idea of the conversion of military to civilian industry and the diversion of scientific manpower from military to civilian needs is gaining ground. The conversion of scientific manpower is a critical factor in the resolution of the non-military threats to security.

The report suggests that Pugwash play a role in revising the conception of a code of conduct for technology transfer, analyze the problems of conversion and help chip away the hegemonic structure of the current international technological order.

The report stresses ecological threats: the greenhouse effect, the depletion of the ozone layer, rapid deforestation and dwindling biological diversity, all set against rapid population growth.

A central issue is the problem of energy. The divergence between the energy consumption patterns in the North and South is totally skewed in favour of the North, but, the report states, the developed countries have yet to accept restrictions on their environmentally unsound policies while they demand restrictions on the South. The need

is for an equitable sharing of the burdens of protecting the environment and the sharing of environmentally benign technologies.

The handling of the non-military threats to global security is obviously impossible without the creation of a co-operative global order and the creation of a new dynamic multilateralism. This must, the report concludes, be based on principles such as universality and common benefit, flexibility that accommodates the different levels of development, respect for the diversity of social systems and transparency with a free flow of information.

The Workshop was attended by 36 scientists, diplomats, scholars and policy makers from 16 countries. Mr. Bhaichand Patel, Director of the UN Information Centre in New Delhi, represented the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. Yasushi Akashi. Papers were provided by the UN Department of International Economic and Social Affairs and by the Office for Research and the Collection of Information. □

Alternatives for Common Security in South America

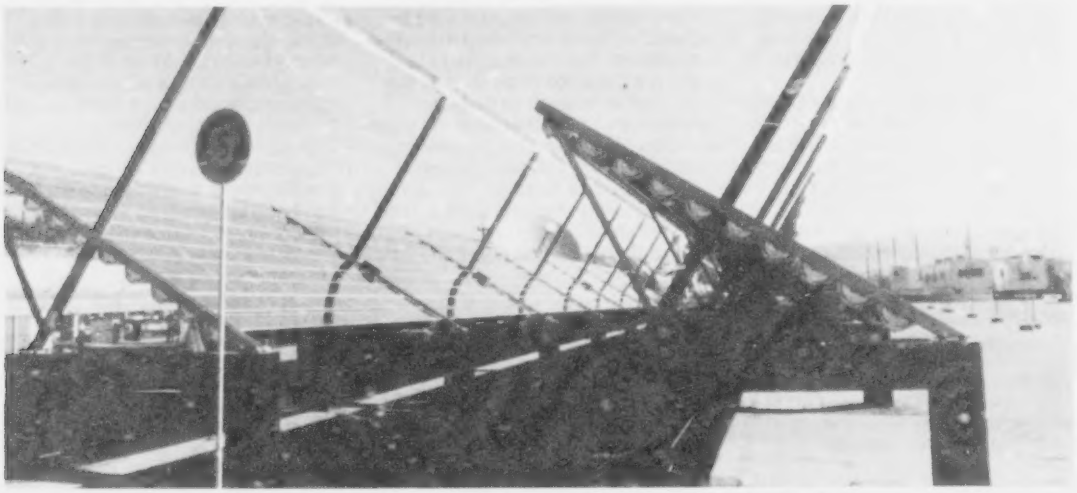
Security in South America was the focus of discussion at a seminar held in November 1989 in Lima, Peru, under the auspices of the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean. The twelve papers submitted formed the basis for a discussion of the main problems facing the region and covered certain trends in South American thought on those problems.

Participants identified a number of threats to security in the region, including: narcotics trafficking, subversion and terrorism, poverty, threats to democracy and weaknesses in the structure of nation-States in the region, external debt, ecological problems , foreign intervention, regional territorial conflicts, exclusion from the technological revolution and rapid population growth. It was frequently stated that these factors tended to combine, leading to deterioration in the quality of life and growing instability.

Regarding possible criteria for security co-operation in South America, participants discussed: the strengthening of democracy and human rights, the need to reduce external debt through sub-regional co-operation among heads of State, officials and parliamentarians, and also through business and labour groups. Technological co-operation to improve regional communications and transportation was also needed. Participants were supportive of an integration process, but some favoured permanent arrangements and others an *ad hoc* task force approach.

Discussing political co-operation, participants emphasized the peaceful solution of territorial disputes, the establishment of a zone of peace in the South Atlantic and the non-intervention of outside Powers.

With regard to armed forces, the need to promote contacts among them and confidence-building measures were stressed. □



A line-focus solar concentrator that uses linear mirrors to focus solar radiation in concentrated form onto a pipe containing hot oil, which can be heated up to 200-300 degrees celsius and used as an "exchange medium" to heat water or other material. (UN photo 150755)

NGO news items

The brief report below on activities of non-governmental organizations includes some of the events and programmes of an international character which have come to the attention of the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs. Coverage does not imply a judgement by the United Nations.

The UN and related agencies Staff Movement for Disarmament and Peace (UN SMDP)organized an exhibition during Disarmament Week at the Palais des Nations presenting an international photomontage by Peter Kennard on the theme of peace and disarmament, and also arranged a Round Table discussion on "Artists for Peace". This meeting, which provided a lively discussion chaired by Vicente Berasategui of the UN Department for Disarmament Affairs, was addressed by Mr. Kennard, a British artist, and by Dr. Eliza Fuksa who is a professor of plastic art at the Sorbonne in Paris. UN-SMDP also held a discussion meeting on "Chemical Weapons" where the introductory speaker was Ambassador Pierre Morel (France), President of the Special Committee on Chemical Weapons. **Contact:** UN SMDP, B.P. 106, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland. (Tel: 41-22-734-60-11 ext: 4446, 4480)

Our Planet in Every Classroom is an international project to place a photograph of Earth from space into every school room worldwide. Begun in 1988 in Canada, the project has spread to more than 20 countries including the United States and the Soviet Union. Many NGOs and educational bodies are helping to distribute the posters and prepare support material. The organizers would appreciate suggestions and help in distributing the posters to schools. **Contact**: Our Planet in Every Classroom, 777 UN Plaza, 12th floor, New York, N.Y. 10017, USA. (Tel: 212-599-1320)

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is sponsoring a *Standing Up for Peace* contest. To participate, one must speak face to face with someone who has refused to fight in war, pay taxes for war, or build weapons for war, to hear what it is like to take a stand and risk the consequences. Then the contestant is to express what he or she thinks and feels about what was learned in writing or by creating a work of art or music. The contest is open to young people aged 15-23. The deadline for entries is 1 May 1990, and the Standing Up for Peace Contest Booklet may be ordered from FOR for use by contestants, or by people wishing to assist in organizing the contest in different parts of the world. **Contact**: Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960. (Tel: 914-358-4601)

The International Studies Association will address Perspectives on Global Security at its 31st Annual Convention in Washington DC from 10-14 April 1990. Broad participation is expected, and panels are being organized by the Austrian Institute for International Affairs, the Bangladesh Society of International Studies, and similar associations in more than a dozen countries. The 250 plus panel sessions will also be organized by the ISA Sections such as that on American-Soviet Relations, on International Organization, on International Security Studies and on Peace Studies. Contact: ISA, James F. Byrnes International Center, The University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C. 29208. (Tel: 803-777-2933)

The University of Melbourne will sponsor a conference for disarmament, security and co-operation in the Asia-Pacific region from 4-8 July 1990. It will consist of panel discussions, plenary sessions and over 100 workshops on themes including: the nature of security, issues in militarization, self-determination and human rights, environmental issues, economic development, regional movements and networks, strategies for building disarmament, security and co-operation, common security and campaign methods and skills. Broad international participation is invited and expected. Contact: ASPAC 1990, GPO Box 336C, Melbourne VIC 300; (Tel: 03-663-8080; fax: 03-348-1270)

The 3rd International Teachers for Peace Congress will be held in Budapest, Hungary from 1-4 June 1990. The second preparatory meeting in October 1989 was attended by 26 representatives of eleven countries. There was general agreement on the need to strengthen a world-wide process of seeking unity in diversity. The four main themes for the Congress are, 1. Ways to achieve disarmament and development, 2. Co-operation, conflict resolution, enemy images, the role of the media, 3. Collective and individual rights and freedoms, 4. Ecology and the implementation of the Brundtland report of the World Commission on Environment and Development . While no decision had been taken yet on the motto of the Congress, the alternatives being considered indicate the thinking of the planning group: "Visions and values in a changing world," "Changing world, common values," " By helping others, you help yourself," "Think and teach globally - act locally." Contact: International Teachers for Peace Congress, 1054 Budapest, Széchenyi rakpart 6 (Tel: 131-2994 or 111-75 11, Telex:22-7675, fax: 124 - 645)